Ἑλληνιστὶ γινώσκεις; (Acts 21:37)

The survival of Cappadocian Greek[1]

Mark Janse

1. The Early History of Cappadocia[1]

Cappadocia is a historical region located in Central Anatolia (map 1). Its history goes back to the second millennium BC, when the Hittites ruled over most of Asia Minor from the beginning of the sixteenth century until the collapse of the Hittite Empire around 1180 BC. A number of Syro- or Neo-Hittite kingdoms emerged during the Iron Age in south-eastern Asia Minor and northern Syria, including the Luwian-speaking kingdom of Tabal which was centered around the ancient city of Kanesh about 20 km northeast of Mazaka (Caesarea) and annexed as an Assyrian province in 713 by the Neo-Assyrian king Sargon II (r. 722–705).[2] In the sixth century BC, Cappadocia becomes the battlefield of two great powers: the Lydian Empire under Croesus (r. *c.* 560–*c.* 546) and the Persian Achaemenid Empire under Cyrus the Great (r. 559–530).[3] Croesus famously asked the oracle at Delphi whether to send an army against the Persians, upon which he was told, with typical ambiguity, that if he should do so, 'he would destroy a great empire'.[4] A great empire was indeed destroyed, but it was Croesus' and not Cyrus', who took Sardis in 546.

Map 1: Kingdom of Cappadocia under Ariarathes III (r. c. 250–220 BC)

Herodotus tells us that the name Cappadocia (Καππαδοκία) is Persian (*Historiae* 7.72). As a matter of fact, it is first attested in the famous trilingual Behistun inscription by Darius the Great (r. 522–486), where it is written as *Katpatukaš* in Elamite, *Katpatukka* in Babylonian and *Katpatuka* in Old Persian cuneiform. Herodotus also informs us that the Greeks called the inhabitants 'Syrians' (Σύριοι) and not 'Cappadocians', as the Persians did (*Historiae* 1.72, 5.49), which must be a reference to the Syro-Hittites mentioned above. Writing in the first decades of our era, Strabo (64/3 BC–*c.*24 AD) notes that the Cappadocian 'Syrians' this side of the Taurus (ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου) were called 'White Syrians' (Λευκόσυροι), as opposed to the Syrians living at the other side of the Taurus (ἔξω τοῦ Ταύρου), who had a darker complexion (ἐκείνων ἐπικεκαυμένων τὴν χρόαν) (*Geographia* 12.3.9).

2. The Hellenization of Cappadocia

Under Darius the Great, Katpatuka became the third satrapy in the Achaemenid Empire. Only three Cappadocian satraps are known by name. The last is also the most famous: Ariarathes, who became satrap in 350 and refused to submit to Alexander the Great (r. 336–323) after the latter's conquest of Asia Minor in 334. As Ariarathes I (r. 331–322), he became the ancestor of the Ariarathid dynasty, who ruled the kingdom of Cappadocia (map 1) from 331 BC until 17 AD, when it was annexed as a Roman province. Despite their Persian descent,[5] the Ariarathids became increasingly philhellene, as can gathered from the epithets of Ariarathes V (r. 163–130): Εὐσεβὴς Φιλοπάτωρ, about whom Mommsen writes: 'Durch ihn drang [die hellenistische Bildung] ein in das bis dahin fast barbarische Kappadokien'.[6] During the Cappadocian kingdom, the Greek language spread slowly but steadily in Cappadocia. The process of Hellenization was reinforced after the Roman annexation by Tiberius

1 On the history of the Cappadocians and their languages see the following publications by the same author: 'Aspects of bilingualism in the history of the Greek language', in J.N. Adams, Mark Janse and Simon Swain (eds.), *Bilingualism in ancient society: Language contact and the written word* (Oxford 2002), p. 332–390; 'De Cappadociërs en hun talen', *Tetradio* 7 (2007) p. 57–78; 'Grieks lichaam, Turkse ziel. Multiculturele symbiose in Cappadocië en de Cappadocische Diaspora', in Danny Praet (ed.), *Us & Them: Essays over filosofie, politiek, religie en cultuur van de Antieke Oudheid tot Islam in Europa ter ere van Herman De Ley* (Gent 2008), p. 107–137.
2 On the history of the Hittites and Syro- or Neo-Hittites see especially the works of Trevor C. Bryce: *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (2nd ed., Oxford 2005), *Warriors of Anatolia: A Concise History of the Hittites* (London 2019), *The World of The Neo-Hittite Kingdoms: A Political and Military History* (Oxford 2012).
3 Herodotus describes the episode in great detail in the first book of his *Histories*.
4 μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλύσειν (*Historiae* 1.53).
5 The first member of the name Ariarathes derives from Old Persian **aryā*- 'Aryan'.
6 Theodor Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte* (Leipzig 1855), Bd. 2, p. 52.

Map 2: Byzantine Empire under Basilius II Porphyrogenitus (r. 976–1025)

(r. 14–37), who renamed the Cappadocian capital Mazaka Caesarea (Καισάρεια). Strabo, a native of Amaseia in Pontus who experienced the annexation himself, notes that in his time most indigenous peoples of Asia Minor had already lost their languages as well as their original names (*Geographia* 12.4.6).

Greek had become the lingua franca of the eastern Mediterranean during the Hellenistic and even more so during the Roman period and for many people their first and often only language. Already in the third century BC, the Torah (Hebrew תּוֹרָה *tôrâ*), the first five books of the Hebrew Bible known in Greek as the Pentateuch (Πεντάτευχος 'five scrolls'), had already been translated into Greek for the sake of the Alexandrian Jews, who were no longer able to read the Hebrew original. Similarly, the New Testament was written and distributed in Greek for the Jewish and Gentile Christians, not just in Greece (Corinthians, Philippians and Thessalonians) and Rome (Romans) but also in Asia Minor (Colossians, Ephesians and Galatians). In the words of A. Thumb: "Von allen nichtgriechischen Ländern ist am gründlichsten Kleinasien hellenisiert worden … Die ungeheure Masse griechischer Inschriften, die auf dem ganzen Gebiet sich finden …, zeigt, daß Kleinasien mindestens in der römischen Kaiserzeit ein ganz griechisches Land mit griechischer Cultur gewesen ist".[7]

7 Albert Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung des* Κοινή (Straßburg 1901), p. 102–103.

3. Cappadocian: the original language

At the same time there is evidence that the original Cappadocian language continued to be spoken in the first centuries of our era. In the story of Pentecost described in Acts, the Apostles began to speak 'in other tongues' (ἑτέραις γλώσσαις, 2.4), thus enabling the amassed listeners to hear them speak 'in their own language' (τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ, 2.6–8). Among the many speakers of other tongues mentioned in this passage are 'the inhabitants of Cappadocia' (οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν Καππαδοκίαν, 2.9).

In the so-called Sibylline Oracles, a collection of oracular prophecies written in hexameters by Jewish and Christian writers between approximately 150 BC and 180 AD, both the Cappadocians and the Arabs are called 'speakers of a foreign tongue' (βαρβαρόφωνοι, *Oracula Sibyllina* 3.516).[8] Xenophon of Ephesus, a second-century novelist, mentions a certain Hippothous who knew the language of the Cappadocians and as a result was treated by them as one of their own.[9]

The question is what kind of language Cappadocian actually was. It cannot have been Old Persian, as the Ariarathids promoted the Greek language and culture and before them Aramaic was the lingua franca in the Achaemenid Empire. Median and Parthian, two other Iranian languages, are mentioned by name among the other tongues spoken by the Apostles at Pentecost (*Acta* 2.9). Median is also mentioned in what must be the most blatant case of a missed opportunity to identify the Cappadocian language. One of the three Cappadocian Fathers, Gregory of Nyssa (330–395), cites words for 'heaven' in different languages:[10]

> ἡμεῖς οὐρανὸν τοῦτο λέγομεν, σαμαΐμ ὁ Ἑβραῖος, ὁ Ῥωμαῖος κελούμ, καὶ ἄλλως ὁ Σύρος, ὁ Μῆδος, ὁ Καππαδόκης, ὁ Μαυρούσιος, ὁ Σκύθης, ὁ Θρᾷξ, ὁ Αἰγύπτιος.[11]
>
> We call it *ouranós*, the Hebrew *šamáyim*, the Roman *caelum*, and still otherwise the Syrian, the Mede, the Cappadocian, the Moor, the Scythian, the Thracian, the Egyptian.

From this quotation we can deduce that Cappadocian was in any case different from the two Iranian languages Median and Scythian and from Syriac, a dialect of Middle Aramaic belonging to the (Northwest) Semitic language family. But why on earth did Gregory fail to mention the word for 'heaven' in the indigenous language of his homeland, where Cappadocian was apparently still spoken in the fourth century AD? This is confirmed by another Cappadocian Father, Basil the Great of Caesarea (330–379), who notes that the use of καί 'and' instead of σύν 'with' in the doxology[12] is obligatory for grammatical reasons in the Syriac traditions of Mesopotamia as well as in his native Cappadocian language.[13]

Although we can again deduce that Cappadocian is different from Syriac,

8 The juxtaposition of Cappadocians and Arabs confirms the interpretation of βαρβαρόφωνος as 'speaking a foreign language', not 'speaking Greek badly' (*cf.* fn. 14).
9 ἐμπειρῶς εἶχε τῆς Καππαδοκῶν φωνῆς καὶ αὐτῷ πάντες ὡς οἰκείῳ προσεφέροντο (*Ephesiaca* 3.1.2).

10 *Contra Eunomium* = *Patrologia Graeca* 45.1045.
11 It may be noted that the editor of the *Patrologia Graeca*, the French scholar-priest Jacques-Paul Migne (1800–1875), inadvertently accented both the Hebrew and the Latin words for 'heaven' as if they were French: σαμαΐμ for σαμάιμ (Hebrew שָׁמַיִם *šāmáyim*) and κελούμ for κέλουμ (*caelum*, in its Vulgar Latin pronounciation with monophthongized *ae* > *e*).
12 The canonical form is Δόξα πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι 'Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit', whereas Basil's innovation was μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι 'with the Son together with the Holy Spirit'. Basil's treatise *De spiritu sancto* was written in defense of his innovation against his opponents who preferred μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι 'with the Son in the Holy Spirit', *cf. St. Basil of Caesarea: On the Holy Spirit*, translation and introduction by David Anderson (Crestwood NY 1997).
13 καὶ Καππαδόκες δὲ οὕτω λέγομεν ἐγχωρίως 'we Cappadocians, too, say it like that in our native language' (*De spiritu sancto* = *Patrologia Graeca* 32.208).

it seems unlikely that Basil's statement is tantamount to saying that the two languages are otherwise related or, in other words, that Cappadocian might be a Northwest Semitic language related to Syriac. The Syriac word for 'heaven(s)' is *šmayyā* (Syriac ܫܡܝܐ, Aramaic שְׁמַיָּא), which is too close to the Hebrew *šāmáyim* (שָׁמַיִם) quoted by Gregory of Nyssa not to allow a connection with the Cappadocian word for 'heaven', if Cappadocian were indeed a Northwest Semitic language. The best educated guess is that the original Cappadocian language was related to or, indeed, descended from the language spoken in the Neo-Hittite Kingdom of Tabal and even before that in the Hittite Empire: Luwian, an Anatolian language related to Hittite. Unfortunately, the evidence remains circumstantial and not substantial.[14]

4. Cappadocian: the Greek variety

Whatever the identity of the original Cappadocian language, we do know that it had a profound effect on the quality of the Greek spoken in Cappadocia. Following Strabo, it could be argued that the Cappadocians were known to 'speak Greek like a barbarian' (βαρβαρίζειν or βαρβαρφωνεῖν).[15] Judging from the following epigram attributed to Lucian, the ineloquence of the Cappadocians was proverbial:[16]

θᾶττον ἔην | λευκοὺς κόρακας | πτηνάς τε χελώνας
εὑρεῖν ἢ δόκιμον | ῥήτορα Καππαδόκην.

It was easier to find white ravens and winged turtles
than a decent Cappadocian orator.

We happen to know one such Cappadocian orator by name, Pausanias of Caesarea (second century), a student of Herodes Atticus (101–177) and teacher of Claudius Aelianus (*c.* 175–*c.* 235), whose pronounciation is ridiculed by Flavius Philostratus (*c.* 170–244/9):[17]

ἀπήγγειλε παχείᾳ τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ ὡς Καππαδόκαις ξύνηθες, ξυγκρούων μὲν τὰ ξύμφωνα τῶν στοιχείων, συστέλλων δὲ τὰ μηκυνόμενα καὶ μηκύνων τὰ βραχέα.

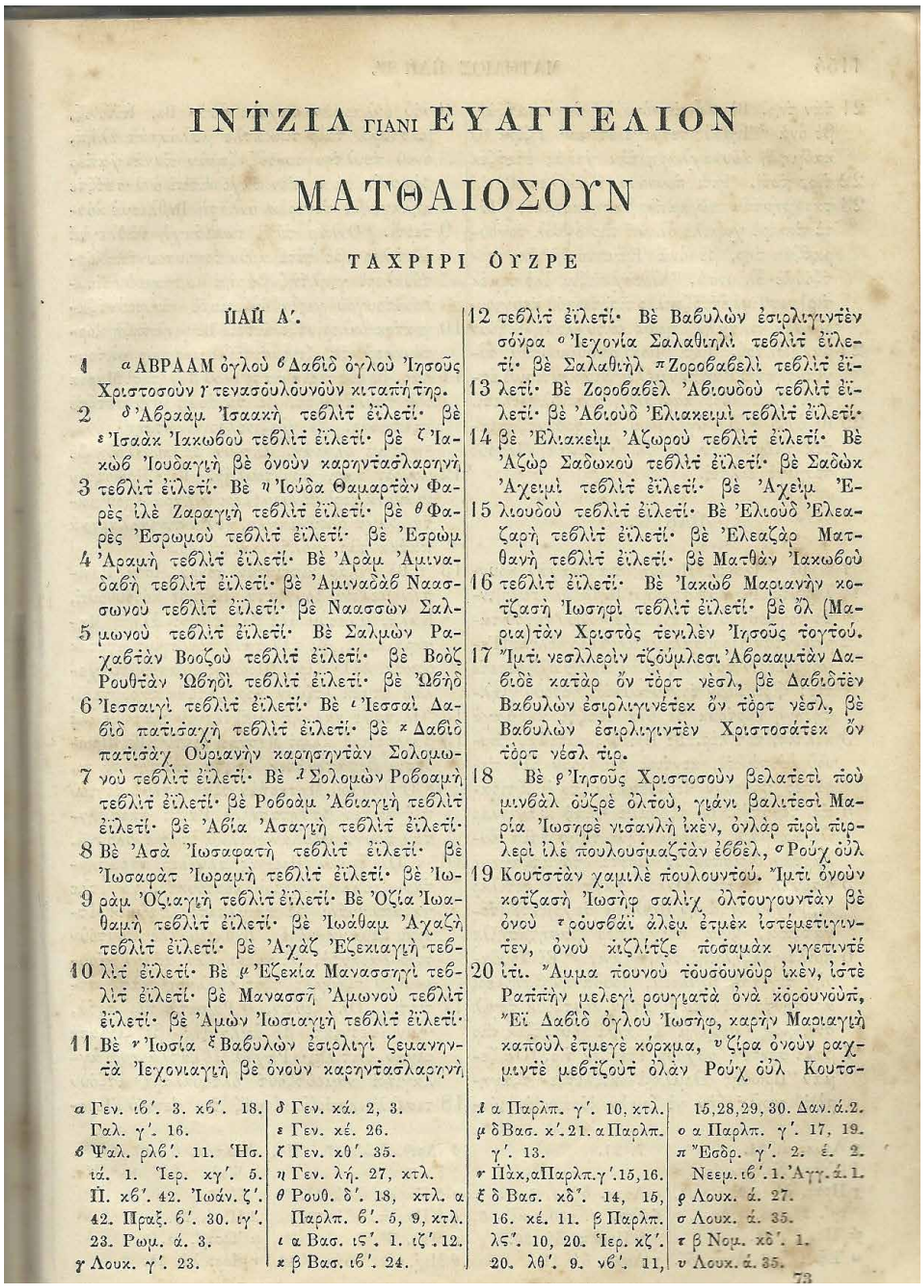
He declaimed with a heavy accent, as is characteristic of the Cappadocians, making his consonants strike together, shortening the long syllables and lengthening the short ones.

The third Cappadocian Father, Gregory of Nazianzus (329–389), too, alludes to the barbaric accent of the Cappadocians in his speech to the conceited clergy of Constantinople:[18]

ἀπαιδευσίαν δὲ οὐκ ἐγκαλέσεις ἢ ὅτι τραχύ σοι δοκῶ καὶ ἀγροικον φθέγγεσθαι;

Will you not reproach me for want of education or because I seem to you to speak in a harsh and boorish manner?

Another famous Cappadocian, the first-century holy man Apollonius of Tyana, was apparently not affected in his speech by his Cappadocian descent according to his biographer Philostratus.[19]



ΙΝΤΖΙΑ ΓΙΑΝΙ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ

ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣΟΥΝ

ΤΑΧΡΙΡΙ ΟΥΖΡΕ

ΙΠΑΪ Α'.

1 α ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ογλού β Δαβίδ ογλού Ἰησοῦς Χριστοσούν γ τενασόυλόυνόὺν κιταπήτηρ.
2 δ Ἀβραὰμ Ἰσαακὴ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ ε Ἰσαὰκ Ἰακωβοὺ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ ζ Ἰακωβ Ἰουδαγιὴ βὲ ὀνούν καρηντασλαρηνὴ
3 τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· Βὲ η Ἰούδα Θαμαρτὰν Φαρὲς ἰλὲ Ζαραγιὴ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ θ Φαρὲς Ἐσρωμοὺ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ἐσρὼμ
4 Ἀραμὴ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· Βὲ Ἀρὰμ Ἀμιναδαβὴ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ἀμιναδὰβ Ναασσωνοὺ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ναασσὼν Σαλ-
5 μωνοὺ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· Βὲ Σαλμὼν Ραχαβτὰν Βοοζοὺ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Βοὸζ Ρουθτὰν Ὠβηδὶ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ὠβηδ
6 Ἰεσσαιγὶ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· Βὲ ι Ἰεσσαὶ Δαβὶδ πατὶσαχὴ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ κ Δαβὶδ πατὶσάχ Οὐριανὴν καρησηντὰν Σολομω-
7 νοὺ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· Βὲ λ Σολομὼν Ροβοαμὴ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ροβοὰμ Ἀβιαγιὴ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ἀβία Ἀσαγιὴ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί·
8 Βὲ Ἀσὰ Ἰωσαφατὴ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ἰωσαφὰτ Ἰωραμὴ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ἰω-
9 ρὰμ Ὀζιαγιὴ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· Βὲ Ὀζία Ἰωαθαμὴ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ἰωάθαμ Ἀχαζὴ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ἀχὰζ Ἐζεκιαγιὴ τεβ-
10 λὶτ ἐϊλετί· Βὲ μ Ἐζεκία Μανασσηγὶ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Μανασσῆ Ἀμωνοὺ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ἀμὼν Ἰωσιαγὶη τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί·
11 Βὲ ν Ἰωσία ξ Βαβυλὼν ἐσιρλιγὶ ζεμανηντὰ Ἰεχονιαγὶη βὲ ὀνούν καρηντασλαρηνὴ
12 τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· Βὲ Βαβυλὼν ἐσιρλιγιντὲν σόνρα ο Ἰεχονία Σαλαθιὴλ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Σαλαθιὴλ π Ζοροβαβελὶ τεβλὶτ ἐϊ-
13 λετί· Βὲ Ζοροβαβὲλ Ἀβιουδοὺ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ἀβιοὺδ Ἐλιακειμὶ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί·
14 βὲ Ἐλιακεὶμ Ἀζωροὺ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· Βὲ Ἀζὼρ Σαδωκοὺ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Σαδὼκ Ἀχειμὶ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ἀχεὶμ Ἐ-
15 λιουδοὺ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· Βὲ Ἐλιοὺδ Ἐλεαζαρὶ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ἐλεαζὰρ Ματθανὶ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ Ματθὰν Ἰακωβοὺ
16 τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· Βὲ Ἰακὼβ Μαριανὴν κοτζασὴ Ἰωσηφὶ τεβλὶτ ἐϊλετί· βὲ ὃλ (Μα-ρια)τὰν Χριστὸς τενιλὲν Ἰησοῦς τογτού.
17 Ἴμτι νεσλλεσὶν τζούμλεσι Ἀβραμτὰν Δαβιδὲ κατὰρ ὃν τὸρτ νεσλ, βὲ Δαβιδτὲν Βαβυλὼν ἐσιρλιγινέτεκ ὃν τὸρτ νεσλ, βὲ Βαβυλὼν ἐσιρλιγιντὲν Χριστοσάτεκ ὃν τὸρτ νεσλ τὶρ.
18 Βὲ ρ Ἰησοῦς Χριστοσοὺν βελατετὶ πού μινβὰλ οὐζρὲ ὀλτού, γιάνι βαλιτεσὶ Μαρία Ἰωσηφὲ νισανλὴ ικὲν, ὀνλὰρ πιρὶ πιρλερὶ ἰλὲ πουλουσμαζτὰν ἐββὲλ, σ Ρούχ οὐλ
19 Κουτστὰν χαμιλὲ πουλουντού. Ἴμτι ὀνούν κοτζασὴ Ἰωσὴφ σαλὶχ ὀλτουγουντὰν βὲ ὀνού τ ρούσβάϊ ἀλὲμ ἐτμὲκ ἰστέμετιγιντεν, ὀνού κἰζλίτζε πόσαμὰκ νιγετιντέ
20 ἰτι. Ἄμμα πουνού τὸυσὸυνούρ ικὲν, ἰστὲ Ραππὴν μελεγὶ ρουγιατὰ ὀνὰ κόρούνούπ, Ἓϊ Δαβὶδ ογλού Ἰωσὴφ, καρὴν Μαριαγιὴ καπούλ ἐτμεγὲ κόρκμα, υ ζίρα ὀνούν ραχμιντὲ μεβτζούτ ὀλὰν Ρούχ οὐλ Κουτσ-

α Γεν. ιϐ'. 3. κϐ'. 18. Γαλ. γ'. 16.
β Ψαλ. ρλϐ'. 11. Ἡσ. τά. 1. Ἱερ. κγ'. 5. Ἠ. κϐ'. 42. Ἰωάν. ζ'. 42. Πραξ. ϐ'. 30. ιγ'. 23. Ρωμ. ά. 3.
γ Λουκ. γ'. 23.
δ Γεν. κά. 2, 3.
ε Γεν. κέ. 26.
ζ Γεν. κϑ'. 35.
η Γεν. λή. 27, κτλ.
θ Ρουθ. δ'. 18, κτλ. α Παρλπ. ϐ'. 5, 9, κτλ.
ι α Βασ. ις'. 1. ιζ'. 12.
κ β Βασ. ιϐ'. 24.
λ α Παρλπ. γ'. 10. κτλ.
μ δ Βασ. κ'. 21. α Παρλπ. γ'. 13.
ν Πάχ, α Παρλπ. γ'. 15, 16.
ξ δ Βασ. κδ'. 14, 15, 16. κέ. 11. β Παρλπ. λς'. 10, 20. Ἱερ. κζ'. 20. λϑ'. 9. νϐ'. 11, 15, 28, 29, 30. Δαν. ά. 2.
ο α Παρλπ. γ'. 17, 19.
π Ἔσδρ. γ'. 2. έ. 2. Νεεμ. ιϐ'. 1. Ἀγγ. ά. 1.
ρ Λουκ. ά. 27.
σ Λουκ. ά. 35.
τ β Νομ. κδ'. 1.
υ Λουκ. ά. 35.

73

Figure 1: Gospel according to Matthew in Karamanlidika

14 Strabo notes that Cappadocian is closely related to another unidentified language from Asia Minor called 'Cataonian' (*Geographia* 12.1.2).
15 Strabo glosses both βαρβαρίζειν and βαρβαροφωνεῖν as κακῶς ἑλληνίζειν 'speak Greek badly' (*Geographia* 14.2.28). *Cf.* fn. 8.
16 *Anthologia Palatina* 11.436.
17 *Vitae Sophistarum* 2.13. 'making his consonants strike together' refers to the syncope of unstressed vowels (*cf.* fn. XX).
18 *Oratio XXXXIII* = *Patrologia Graeca* 36.224.

Map 3a: Greek-speaking villages in Cappadocia (Political map of Turkey)

After the division of the Roman Empire at the death of Theodosius in 395,[20] Greek naturally remained the official language of the Eastern Roman Empire, although the Byzantines continued to call themselves 'Romans' (Ῥωμαῖοι) and their language 'Roman' (ῥωμαίικα).[21] We have no evidence, either direct or indirect, about the quality of the 'barbaric' speech of the Cappadocians in the second half of the first millennium, but we do know that they were considered 'barbaric' in their behaviour.

The Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (r. 913–959), discussing the proverbial 'malice' (κακοτροπία) of the Cappadocians, quotes a saying about the 'three worst kappas' (τρία κάππα κάκιστα): Cappadocia, Crete and Cilicia.[22] The sixth-century poet Demodocus of Leros calls the Cappadocians 'bad as can be' (φαυλεπιφαυλότατοι) and even coins a verb 'Cappadocianize' (καππαδοκίζω).[23]

5. The Turkicization of Cappadocia[24]

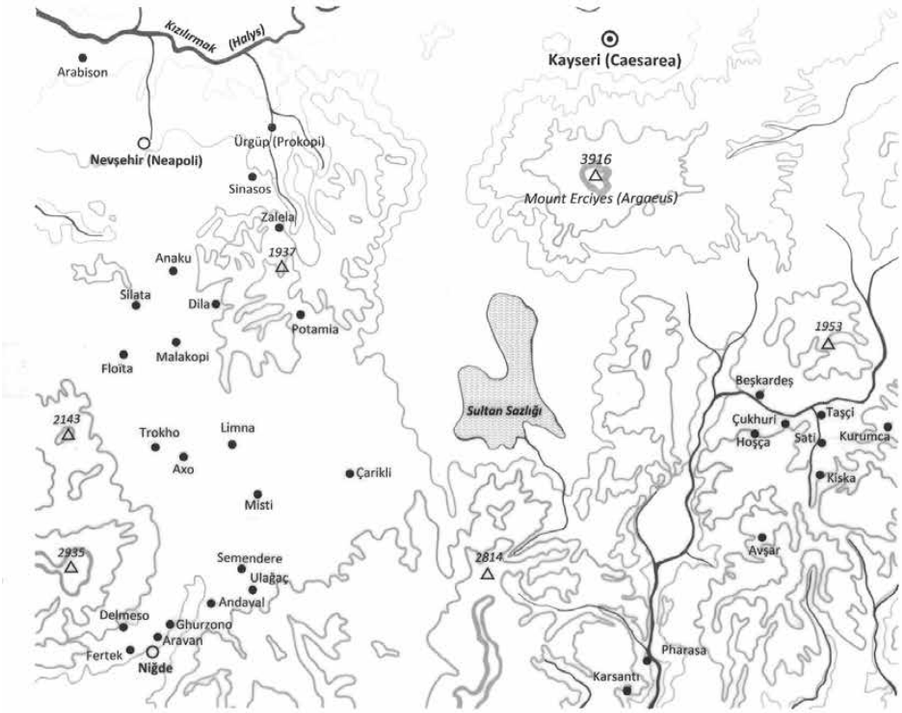
In the twelfth century, Theodore Prodromos called Cappadocia a 'land flooded by barbarians' (γῆ βαρβαροχουμένη).[25] This, however, is not a reference to the 'barbaric' Cappadocians, but to the Seljuk Turks, who had invaded Cappadocia in the eleventh century.[26] In 1071, the Byzantine forces led by emperor Romanus IV Diogenis

19 ἡ γλῶττα ἀττικῶς εἶχεν οὐδ' ἀπήχθη τὴν φωνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους 'his speech affected Attic and his accent was not corrupted by his race' (Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 1.7).
20 It may be noted that the imperial borders did not coincide with the language borders, as Greek was at the time widely spoken in southern Italy (and still is in a few isolated communities in Calabria and Puglia).
21 Even today ρωμαίικα is still used in certain expressions to refer to the Greek language, e.g. καταλαβαίνεις ρωμαίικα; 'do you understand Greek?', i.e. 'do you understand what I am saying?

22 *De thematibus* 2.69.
23 *Fragmenta* 5 West = *Anthologia Palatina* 11.238.

24 On the history of the Turkicization, both linguistically and religiously, see especially Speros Vryonis Jr., *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from the eleventh through the fifteenth century*. (Berkeley 1971).
25 *Carmina Historica* 19.52 Hörandner.
26 *Cf.* βαρβαροχέομαι 'von Barbaren beherrscht werden' in Erich Trapp (ed.), *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität: besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts* (Wien 1996), Fasz. 2 *s.v.*

(r. 1068–1071) had been defeated by the Seljuk army led by sultan Alp Arslan (r. 1063–1072) in the battle at Manzikert on the eastern border of the Byzantine Empire (map 2, p. 50). Six years later, the Seljuk commander Suleiman ibn Qutulmish (r. 1077–1086) founded the independent Sultanate of Rûm in Asia Minor, which bore the Turkish name of its Byzantine inhabitants.[27] The Sultanate of Rûm lasted until the fourteenth century, when it desintegrated into a number of beyliks ('principalities'). The most important of these was the Beylik of Karaman, centered around the city of Karaman in Cilicia, named after Kerîmeddin Karaman Bey, the thirteenth-century Turkmen founder of the Karamanid dynasty (exact dates unknown). It was eventually annexed in 1468 by the Ottomans under Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481), whose son Mustafa became in 1483 the first governer of the Ottoman Elayet ('province') of Karaman, centered around Cappadocia. Fifteen years before the annexation, Mehmed the Conqueror had of course captured Constantinople, thus putting an end to the thousand year Byzantine empire.



Map 3b: Greek-speaking villages in Cappadocia

In the centuries following the battle of Manzikert, Cappadocia became subject to a process of Turkicization. Linguistically speaking, this entailed widespread Greek-Turkish bilingualism, more often than not resulting in Turkish monolinguism. The shift from Greek to Turkish did not necessarily imply conversion to Islam, as can be gathered from the following report presented to the Council of Basel in 1437:[28]

> *Notandum est, quod in multis partibus Turcie reperiuntur clerici, episcopi et arciepiscopi qui portant vestimenta infidelium et locuntur linguam ipsorum et nihil aliud sciunt in Greco proferre nisi missam cantare et evangelium et epistolas. Alias autem orationes dicunt in lingua Turcorum.*
>
> It has to be noted that in many parts of Turkey priests, bishops and archbishops are to be found who wear the garments of the infidels and speak their language and cannot utter anything in Greek except the liturgy and the gospels and the epistles. The sermons, however, are delivered in the language of the Turks.

The Turkish-speaking Christians referred to in the report are called Karamanlides (Καραμανλήδες), whose origin is disputed, although their name identifies them as inhabitants of the Beylik of Karaman.[29] Their language is called Karamanlidika (Καραμανλήδικα), an Anatolian variety of Turkish written in the Greek alphabet instead of the Ottoman script derived from the Perso-Arabic alphabet.[30] An example is the beginning of the Gospel according to Matthew (fig. 1, p. 51):

> Ἀβραὰμ ὀγλοὺ Δαυὶδ ὀγλοὺ Ἰησοῦς Χριστοσοὺν τενασόυλόὺν κιταπήτηρ[31]
>
> *Avraam oğl-u David oğl-u Yisus Hristos-un tenasül-ün kitab-ı-dır*
>
> Abraham son-his David son-his Jesus Christ-GEN lineage-GEN book-its-is
>
> βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ (Mt. 1:1)
> [This is the] book of [the] lineage of Jesus Christ, son of David son of Abraham

Not all the Christians in Cappadocia shifted to Turkish. Around 1910, the British archaeologist and dialectologist/folklorist Richard MacGillivray Dawkins (1871–1955) did fieldwork in Cappadocia, where he found that Greek was still spoken, albeit in a very 'corrupt condition',[32] in twenty villages roughly between Nevşehir, Kayseri en Niğde (maps 3a–b). He famously described Cappadocian as follows: 'The body has remained Greek, but the soul has become Turkish'.[33] One example from Ulağaç, one of the most Turkicized of all the Cappadocian dialects, will suffice to give an impression of the extremely 'corrupt condition' of this particular dialect:[34]

27 Old Anatolian Turkish *Rûm* (روم) derives from the Arabic name for 'Romans' *ar-Rūm* (الرُّومُ), itself a loan from Greek Ῥωμαῖοι, the self-designation of the Byzantines.

28 Quoted in Richard M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor: A study of the dialects of Sílli, Cappadocia and Phárasa, with grammar, texts, translations and glossary* (Cambridge 1916), p. 1 fn. 1.

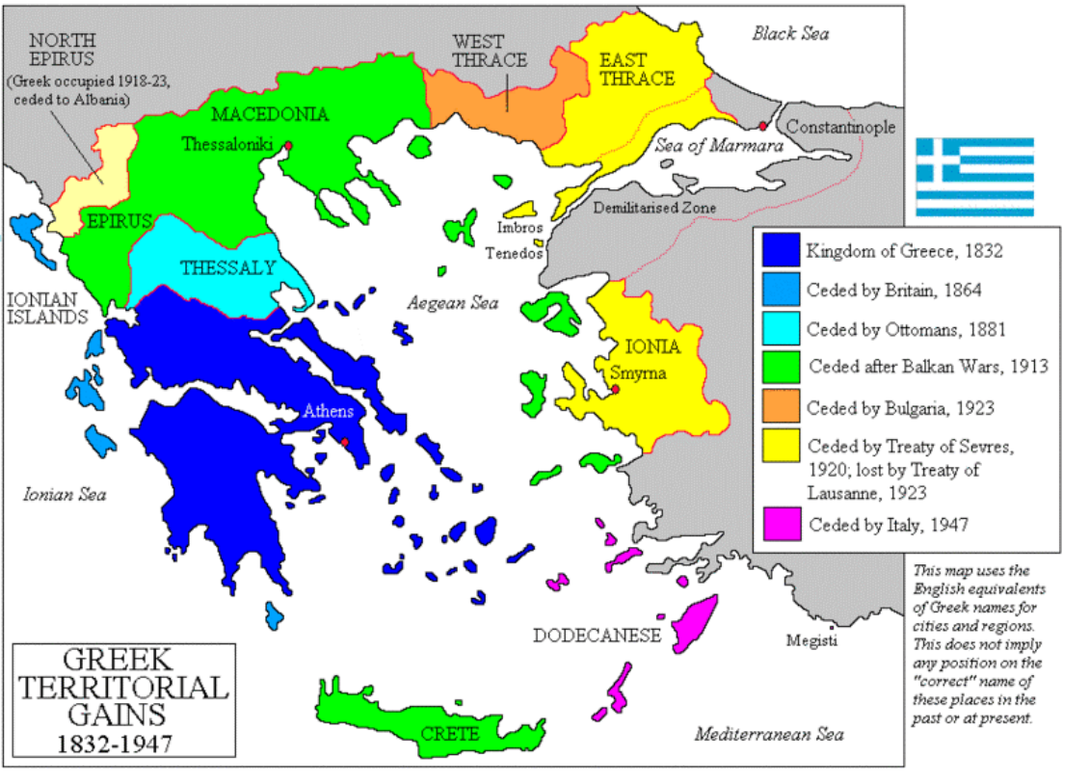
29 Turkish *Karaman-lı* means (someone) 'belonging to Karaman'.

30 On Karamanlidika see especially Evangelia Balta, *Beyond the language frontier: Studies on the Karamanlis and the Karamanlidika printing* (Istanbul 2010), and many other publications by the same author.

31 The diacritics are used in later Karamanlidika orthography to distinguish Turkish from Greek sounds: όυ = *ü*, π = *b*, τ = *d*, cf. Stelios Irakleous, 'On the development of Karamanlidika writing systems based on sources of the period 1764–1895', *Mediterranean Language Review* 20 (2013), p. 57–95. Note that β and δ had become fricatives *v* and ð already in the Roman Period, *b* and *d* being written μπ and ντ in Modern Greek orthography. It should also be noted that the pronounciation of η had changed to *i* in the same period and that η is used in Karamanlidika orthography to represent the Turkish ı [ɯ].

32 Dawkins (fn. 28), p. 18.

33 Dawkins (fn. 28), p. 198.



Map 4: Territorial expansion of the Kingdom of Greece (1832–1947)

> ἤτον ἕνα **δούλ** ναίκα. ἔγιϑκε ἐρῠό **φῶέα**. ἰčά δίνιϑκέν δα **čəράq**, και φέριϑκαν **čəρακῐού** τ δα **παράγῐα**, και **βεσλέττινιϑκαν**.
>
> *íton éna dúl néka. éjiške erjó fšéa. itšá díniškén da tšïráq, ke fériškan tšïrakjút da parája, ke besléttiniškan.*
>
> There was a widow-woman. She had two children. These she used to give apprenticeship, and they would bring the money of their apprenticeship, and they supported [her].

Dawkins was well aware of the 'precarious condition' of Capppadocian and other Asia Minor Greek dialects, 'threatened as they are [...] by the advance of Turkish and the danger of absorption into the common Greek'.[35] The 'absorption into the common Greek' was accelerated by the recent establishment of schools in the Greek-speaking villages, as Dawkins observes in a preliminary study: 'The difference between the local speech and the Greek of the schools is so great that the schoolmaster's efforts rather go to substitute *another language* for the local dialect than gradually correct it'.[36] The use of the phrase 'another language' emphasizes the linguistic distance between Cappadocian and the common Greek of the time. The distance between Cappadocian and older Greek was unbridgeable as well according to Dawkins: 'For the same reason the liturgical use of Greek has had little or no effect. The older generation of priests hardly understood the services, and the people not at all. If it is necessary to make the people understand, Turkish is used. When I was at Fertek, the bishop was there, and the sermon which he preached was Turkish, and so was nearly all his conversation with his flock'.[37] *Alias autem orationes dicunt in lingua Turcorum*.[38]

Dawkins also felt that Cappadocian was threatened by the politics of the 'constitutional *régime* of New Turkey', including a 'great increase of emigration' and 'renewed persecutions'.[39] Dawkins wrote this in his preface dated 24 October 1915, when the Young Turks had restored the Ottoman Consitution following the revolution of 1908. The Ottomans had lost most of their Balkan territories, called Rumelia,[40] in the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 (map 4) and entered the First World War as one of the Central Powers. During the war, the Ottoman Empire had engaged in a genocide against the Armenian, Assyrian and Orthodox Christians in Anatolia, the first effects of which Dawkins witnessed 'in the days that immediately followed the outbreak of the war'.[41]

At the Paris Peace Conference, which opened on 18 January 1919, the Greek prime minister Eleftherios Venizelos (1864–1936), who had brought Greece into the war on the side of the Entente Powers, secured allied support to occupy Smyrna (İzmir) and its hinterland in May, an occupation ratified in the Treaty of Sèvres of August 1920, which also forced the Ottomans to cede East Thrace to Greece (map 4). The invasion of Asia Minor was inspired by the so-called 'Great Idea' (Μεγάλη Ἰδέα), an irredentist project which had played a major role in Greek politics since the Greek war of indepence (1821–1832) and the resulting establishment of an independent kingdom of Greece.[42] Proponents of the 'Great Idea' aspired the restoration of the Byzantine Empire, or as Venizelos would call it 'Greece of the two continents and the five seas' (Ἑλλὰς τῶν δύο ἠπείρων καὶ τῶν πέντε θαλασσῶν), and its former capital Constantinople, which had been occupied by allied forces since November 1918. It was not to be. The Turkish revolutionaries around Mustafa Kemal (1881–1938), surnamed Atatürk 'Father of the Turks' in 1934, launched a counterattack and the 'Great Idea' literally went up in smoke in the great fire of Smyrna in September 1922. The Greeks call this event the 'Asia Minor Catastrophe' (Μικρασιατική Καταστροφή), a disaster deemed greater than the fall of Constantinople in 1453, as it effectively put an end to Hellenism in Asia Minor. The Allies, who had changed camp during the Greek-Turkish war, abandoned the Treaty of Sèvres and negotiated with the Turkish National Movement the Treaty of Lausanne of July 1923, which recognized the independence

34 Dawkins (fn. 28), p.362. I have left Dawkins transcription more or less unchanged and refrain from providing a grammatical analysis in order to allow the reader to fully appreciate the extremely 'corrupt condition' of Ulağaç Cappadocian. Note, however, the productive Cappadocian imperfect formations in *-išk-*: ἔγιϑκε (ἔχω), δίνιϑκεν (δίνω), φέριϑκαν (φέρω), βεσλέττινιϑκαν (βεσλεττῶ, Turkish *besletmek*, causative of *beslemek* 'feed'). Turkish loanwords are printed in boldface.
35 Dawkins (fn. 28), p. v.
36 Dawkins, 'Modern Greek in Asia Minor', *American Journal of Archaeology* 30 (1910), p. 120 (my italics).
37 *Ibidem*.
38 *Cf. supra* with fn. 28.
39 Dawkins (fn. 28), p. v.
40 Ottoman Turkish *Rūm-éli* (روم ايلى), *cf.* fn. 27.
41 Dawkins (fn. 28), p. vi.
42 A very good and very readable overview of the establishment and expansion of the Greek state can be found in Richard Clogg, *A concise history of Greece* (3rd ed. Cambridge 2013).

of the Republic of Turkey and its sovereignty over Ionia, East Thrace and Constantinople (İstanbul).

6. The Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey[43]

The Treaty of Lausanne was preceded by the Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations of January 1923. The 'Exchange', as it was simply called in Greek (Ἀνταλλαγή) and Turkish (مبادله *Mübâdele*), was in fact a compulsory expulsion of at least 1.2 million Orthodox Christians from Turkey and about 400,000 Muslims from Greece. It was not based on language or, indeed, ethnicity, but instead on religeous identity, the Orthodox Christians being members of the Ottoman 'nation' or millet (ملت *millet*) of the Rûm,[44] regardless of their language or ethnicity.[45] According to a 1924 census, 22 out of 61 Christian communities in Cappadocia were Greek-speaking, i.e. bilingual Greek-Turkish (map 3b, p. 53), numbering 17,590 speakers (44.4%), whereas 39 were monolingual Turkish-speaking, numbering 22,027 speakers (55.6%). Some of the monolingual Turkish-speaking communities were entirely Christian, such as Andaval (1812 inhabitants) or Limna (2007 inhabitants), where Greek had given way to Turkish in the nineteenth century.[46] In the majority of these, however, the Muslims outnumbered the Christians by more than five to one.[47] Nine out of the 22 Greek-speaking communities were entirely Christian, such as the relatively big villages of Akso (3687) and Misti (3036), but others had a significant Muslim component, for instance Fertek (430 Christians against 2,500 Muslims).

The above figures are extracted from the short demographic introductions to the collection of moving refugee accounts collected in the second of the four-volume series 'The Exodus' (Ἡ Ἔξοδος).[48] Many of these tell of the warm friendship with the Turkish neighbours, summarized in a frequently used phrase: μὲ τοὺς Τούρκους περνούσαμε καλά 'we got on well with the Turks'.[49] Another frequently used phrase refers to the day of farewell: κλάψανε οἱ Τοῦρκοι μας 'our Turks wept'.[50] The following excerpt from a Greek-speaking woman from Ulağaç illustrates this:[51]

> Ἐκεῖνοι [*i.e.* οἱ Τοῦρκοι], καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Τουρκάλες, πολὺ λυπήθηκαν ποὺ φεύγαμε. Ἔκλαιγαν μαζί μας καὶ ὡς τοὺς ἁραμπάδες ποὺ ἀνεβαίναμε ἔρχονταν ἀπὸ πίσω μας καὶ μᾶς ἀγκαλιάζανε καὶ μᾶς φιλούσανε. "Νὰ ξανάρθετε", λέγανε, "Ἐμεῖς ἄλλους δὲν θέλουμε. Ἐσεῖς εἴστε δικοί μας".
>
> They [*i.e.* the Turks], especially the Turkish women, regretted very much that we were leaving. They were weeping with us and following us to the carts we were mounting and they were hugging us and kissing us. "You have to come back", they kept on saying, "*We* don't want *others*. *You* are our folks".

Some mention the arrival of Muslim refugees from Greece, as this Turkish-speaking Christian from Kiçağaç:[52]

> Θυμᾶμαι ποὺ ἤρθαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι πρόσφυγες. Ἑλληνικὰ μιλούσανε καὶ δὲν τοὺς καταλαβαίναμε. Λέγανε οἱ παλιοὶ Τοῦρκοι: Τοῦρκοι φεύγουν κι Ἕλληνες ἔρχονται.
>
> I remember when the Turkish [*i.e.* Muslim] refugees came. They were speaking Greek and we didn't understand them. The old [*i. e.* local] Turks would say: Turks are leaving and Greeks are coming.

Another, rather funny, story is told by a Greek-speaking Christian from Çeltek:[53]

> Δυὸ μῆνες προτοῦ νὰ φύγουμε ἀπ' το Τσελτέκ, ἦρθαν Τοῦρκοι πρόσφυγες ἀπ' τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Κρητικοὶ ἦταν. Μιλοῦσαν ἑλληνικά, καλὰ ἑλληνικά. Κι ἐμεῖς μιλούσαμε ἑλληνικά, ἀλλὰ δὲν τοὺς καταλαβαίναμε. Ἄγριοι ἄνθρωποι ἦταν.
>
> Two months before we left from Çeltek, Turkish [*i.e.* Muslim) refugees from Greece arrived. They were Cretans. They spoke Greek, good Greek. We, too, spoke Greek, but we didn't understand them. They were wild people.[54]

A recurrent theme in 'The Exodus' is the nostalgia for the 'lost homelands' (χαμένες πατρίδες):[55] φύγαμε ἀπὸ τὸν παράδεισο καὶ πήγαμε στὴν κόλαση 'we left Paradise and went to Hell'.[56] The Greek name for Greece was, of course, Ἑλλάς in Katharevousa (Καθαρεύουσα) or Ἑλλάδα in Demotic (Δημοτική), but the Cappadocians only knew it by its Turkish name Yunanistan (یونانستان): Γιουνανιστάν or Γιονανιστάν, etymologically 'Land of the Ionians'.[57] Although the Cappadocians resettled all over Greece, the majority was sent to the northern regions of Macedonia and Thrace, and to the central regions of Thessaly and Epirus, which had been ceded to Greece relatively recently (map 4). The memory of 400 years of 'Turkish rule' (Τουρκοκρατία) was still very much alive in these regions, where the Cappadocian and other Asia Minor refugees were received as if they were Turks:[58] *portant vestimenta infidelium et locuntur linguam ipsorum*.[59] In their lost homelands they were called γκιαούρηδες

43 On the Exchange and its consequences for both Christians and Muslims as well as for Greece and Turkey see the contributions in Renée Hirschon (ed.), *Crossing the Aegean: An appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey* (Oxford 2003), with Hirschon's introductory papers "Unmixing peoples' in the Aegean Region', p. 3–12, and 'Consequences of the Lausanne Convention: An overview', p. 13–20.
44 *Cf.* fn. 27.
45 As a matter of fact, the Rûm Millet included Greek and Turkish-speaking Orthodox Greeks, Albanians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Vlachs, but also Georgian and Middle Eastern Christians.
46 Dawkins (fn. 28), p. 11.
47 The figures for the Muslim population are often estimates and in a few cases lacking altogether, but certainly more than 100,000 against 22,027.
48 Giannis Mourelos (ed.), *Ἡ Ἔξοδος*, vol. 2: *Μαρτυρίες ἀπὸ τὶς ἐπαρχίες τῆς κεντρικῆς καὶ νότιας Μικρασίας* (Athens 1982).
49 *Ἡ Ἔξοδος* (fn. 48), p. 172 *et passim*. It is not a coincidence that this is the main title of an article by Renée Hirschon (fn. 38): "We got on well with the Turks': Christian-Muslim relations in late Ottoman times', in David Shankland (ed.), *Archaeology, anthropology and heritage in the Balkans and Antolia: The life and times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878–1920* (Istanbul 2004), vol. 2, p. 325–343. Hirschon wrote an important study of the identitie(s) of an urban refugee group fifty years after the Exchange: *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe: The social life of Asia Minor refugees in Piraeus* (2nd ed., Oxford 1998).
50 *Ἡ Ἔξοδος* (fn. 48), p. 75 *et passim*.
51 *Ἡ Ἔξοδος* (fn. 48), p. 231.
52 *Ἡ Ἔξοδος* (fn. 48), p. 224.
53 *Ἡ Ἔξοδος* (fn. 48), p. 25.
54 Remember that the Cretans were reckoned among the 'three worst cappas' (*cf. supra* with fn. 22).
55 The phrase recurs in many book titles, *e.g.* Giannis P. Kapsis, *Χαμένες πατρίδες: Από την απελευθέρωση στην καταστροφή της Σμύρνης* 'Lost homelands: From the liberation to the catastrophy of Smyrna' (Athens 2001), A.L. Marinos, *Χαμένες πατρίδες: Οι απώλειες του Ελληνισμού* 'Lost homelands: The losses of Hellenism' (Athens 2008), Charis Eksertzoglou, *Οι "χαμένες πατρίδες" πέρα από τη νοσταλγία* 'The 'lost homelands' beyond nostalgia' (Athens 2010). *Cf.* Peter Mackridge, 'The myth of Asia Minor in Greek fiction', in Hirschon (fn. 43), p. 235–246.
56 *Ἡ Ἔξοδος* (fn. 48), p. 320.
57 Ottoman Turkish = Persian *Yunan* (یونان), from Old Persian *Yauna* 'Ionia', from Ancient Greek Ἰά(ϝ)ων 'Ionian'.
58 See the contributions in Dimitrios Theodossopoulos (ed.), *When Greeks think about Turks: The view from anthropology* (Abingdon 2007), especially Iraklis Millas, '*Tourkokratia*: History and the image of Turks in Greek literature', 47–60.
59 *Cf. supra* with fn. 28.

Figure 2: Κάκα Δέποικα (*1907, Misti – †2012, Neo Agioneri)

'infidels',[60] in their new homeland τουρκόσποροι 'Turkish bastards'.[61]

The negative attitude of the local Greeks towards the Cappadocian refugees provoked a negative self-attitude and identity.[62] It is perhaps no coincidence that in some places Cappadocians still refer to their native language as 'Karamanlidika', regardless of whether it is actually Greek or Turkish. Apart from the negative linguistic attitude of the first- and second-generation speakers, which interrupted the natural transmission of Cappadocian from (grand)parents to (grand)children, the real threat came from the 'absorption into the common Greek', which was of course many times greater in Greece than it was in Cappadocia. Collaborators of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies (Κέντρο Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών),[63] some of whom native speakers, published studies of the last remains of four Cappadocian dialects (Ulağaç, Aravan, Akso, Anaku) and ethnographic studies of three Cappadocian villages (Anaku, Misti, Akso), but all noted the threat of imminent language death due to the increasing pressure of common Greek.

By the 1970s, Cappadocian was generally believed to be an extinct leanguage. In 1981, the famous Greek dialectologist Kontosopoulos wrote the following interesting statement in his popular introduction to the Modern Greek dialects:[64]

> Ὅποιος ἀκούει – ἢ μᾶλλον διαβάζει, γιατὶ σήμερα δὲν μιλιοῦνται πιὰ τὰ ἰδιώματα αὐτά, ἀφοῦ ὅλοι σχεδὸν οἱ φορεῖς τους, πρόσφυγες τοῦ 1922, ἔχουν πεθάνει – τὴν καππαδοκικὴ διάλεκτο, δὲν ξέρει ἂν ἔχει νὰ κάνει μὲ τούρκικα σὲ ἑλληνικὸ στόμα ἢ μὲ ἑλληνικὰ σὲ τούρκικο στόμα.
>
> Whoever hears – or rather reads, as today these varieties are no longer spoken, since almost all of their speakers, refugees from 1922, have died – the Cappadocian dialect, does not know whether he is dealing with Turkish spoken by Greeks or with Greek spoken by Turks.

When I started studying Cappadocian in 1992, I naturally had to assume that it had indeed died out in the 1970s. Being the only linguist who was actively publishing grammatical studies of the language at the time, I was invited around the turn of the century to contribute the Cappadocian chapter to a monumental handbook of Modern Greek dialects, all the other contributors of which are Greek.[65] When I submitted the first (English) version of my monograph-length chapter of about 100 pages in 2004, I had contented myself for more than a decade with studying yet another dead language, after Ancient Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Aramaic. Having thus gained some notoriety as an expert in Cappadocian linguistics, it so happened that in May 2005 I was asked by my dear friend and colleague Dimitris Papazachariou from the University of Patras to listen very carefully to a recording of a conversation between himself and two old Cappadocian men, one of whom had apparently said something in 'the old language' (τα παλαιά) which Dimitris could not make sense of.[66] As can be imagined, I was very excited when the CD arrived and waiting impatiently for what could well be the last words in Cappadocian, as the speaker apparently had great difficulty in coming up with any. After listening to a long exchange in Greek, whenever Dimitris was involved, and in Turkish, whenever the men were talking among themselves, I finally heard the first spoken Cappadocian in my life:[67]

> πατέρα μ' δώικα **φῠ́έα** έπ'κι
> *patéram dóika **fšéa** épki*
> My father made twelve children

It sounded as if a resurrected Homer had started reciting the *Iliad* before me! I was very emotional and at the same time very excited, as I could not only understand what the man had actually said, but also determine the particular dialect, which was unmistakably the variety originally spoken in the village of Semendere (map 3b, p. 53), because of the raising of unstressed *e* to *i* in δώικα < δώδεκα and especially the form of the aorist έπ'κι(ν) instead of the augmentless form ποίκι(ν) or βοίκι(ν) in the two other vowel-raising dialects of Malakopi and Misti. It was perfectly Cappadocian in every respect: no article before a masculine noun in the

60 Ottoman Turkish *gâvur* (گاور), in the sense of 'non Muslim', not necessarily with negative connotations.
61 The tragic paradox is beautifully captured in Bruce Clark, *Twice a stranger: The mass expulsions that forged Modern Greece and Turkey* (Cambridge MA 2006).
62 *Cf.* Hirschon (fn. 43 & fn. 49).
63 The CAMS (ΚΜΣ) is also responsible for the publication of 'The Exodus' (*cf.* fn. 47).
64 Nikolaos G. Kontosopoulos, *Διάλεκτοι και ιδιώματα της Νέας Ελληνικής* (Athens 1981), p. 7.
65 Christos Tzitzilis (ed.), *Νεοελληνικές διάλεκτοι* (Thessaloniki 2020, in press).
66 Prof. Papazachariou is the new director of the University of Patras Laboratory of Modern Greek Dialects (Εργαστήριο Νεοελληνικών Διαλέκτων), founded in 2000 by Prof. Angela Ralli.
67 *Cf.* fn. 33.

nominative, apocope of final unstressed *u* (μου > μ'), loss *c.q.* change of dental fricatives (δώδεκα > dώικα).[68] Even from this four-word utterance it appears that the language is a characteristic mix of Turkish (Subject-Object-Verb word order) and what Vryonis calls the 'Byzantine residue' in Cappadocian Greek:[69] έπ'κι(ν) is the syncopated Semendere development of Byzantine Greek ἔποικε(ν), the aorist of ποιῶ which is no longer preserved in Modern Greek, where instead έκανε (pres. κάνω) is used. Only then did I realize that the old man had actually made a mistake: the Cappadocian word for 'father' is not πατέρας, as in Modern Greek, but βαβάς.[70]

I immediately booked a flight to Greece and together with Dimitris we embarked on our search for what we believed must be one of the last, if not the last, of the Cappadocians to speak their native language. It soon turned out that there was not one, very old, speaker but many more, including third- and even fourth-generation. Of the fourteen Cappadocian dialects recorded by Dawkins, only Mišótika, the variety originally spoken in Misti, is still spoken to some extent, particularly in the villages of Neo Agioneri and Xirohori in Macedonia and Mandra in Thessaly. In 2015, I estimated the number of speakers at 2,800,[71] although it is very difficult to distinguish between full native speakers and semi-speakers whose language is a mixture of Cappadocian and Modern Greek – and anyone in between. The best speakers and so my best informants are first-generation 'grannies' (γιαγιάδες), many of whom spent most of their lives in and around home without knowing any Modern Greek.[72] Unfortunately, most of them have died in the past fifteen years, including my favourite Kaka Depika (fig. 2).[73] Second-generation women are more mobile and speak Modern Greek in addition to Cappadocian. The men have always been much more mobile than the women, even before the exchange.[74] The danger of 'absorption into the common Greek' is of course the greatest in the speakers who are bilingual in Cappadocian and Modern Greek. Many of the digital recordings I have been making in collaboration with the Laboratory of Modern Greek Dialects bear witness to the increasing 're-Hellenization' of Cappadocian.[75]

The Cappadocians meet every summer in August at their annual festival called 'Gavoustima' (Γαβούστημα).[76] In 2006, one year after our 'rediscovery' of Cappadocian, I was invited to the Gavoustima in Philippi to give a talk, half of which was in Modern Greek, the other half in Mišótika Cappadocian, translated from the Greek by my dear friend Lazaros Kotsanidis.[77] The response from the audience was overwhelmingly emotional and grateful: a (visibly) foreign professor had spoken lovingly about their language *in their language*. The Metropolitan of Drama, His Eminence Paul, came to me and said: 'You have lifted the shame of my people and restored their pride'. It was hard for me to believe and, indeed, accept that my long-term study of an extremely 'corrupt' and therefore extremely interesting variety of Greek could have such a huge societal impact. And yet it had and continues to have. I have been appointed an honorary member of various Cappadocian associations (σύλλογοι), including the Panhellenic Union of Cappadocian Societies (Πανελλήνια Ένωση Καππαδοκικών Σωματίων), who have given me the honorary title of 'Embassador of the Cappadocians' (Πρεσβευτής των Καππαδοκών). I have become an honorary speaker at the annual Gavoustima, where I traditionally address the audience in two Cappadocian varieties (Mišótika and Aksenít'ka) as well as in Pharašótika, a Greek variety related to Cappadocian and Pontic spoken in the southeastern part of Cappadocia (map 3b, p. 53).

Cappadocian, or at least its Mišótika variety, has seen a slight revival since my active involvement with the language and its speakers. They have become aware much more of the value of their native language which, as any other language, is the depository of their history, culture and identity, and a window to their world-view. There is now a public group on Facebook called 'Start Learning the Teaching of the Dialect of Misti' (Έναρξη Διδασκαλίας Εκμάθησης Μυστιώτικου Ιδιώματος),[78] where people post questions or facts about their mother tongue. The original cover photo had a text written over it in the orthography designed by another dear friend, Thanasis Papanikolaou:

> **χόξ κιαλντί**, καλώξ ήρτις! ντ'όργου σ' τί είνι τδαού; έμαχα, άνοιξαν 'να σκόλειια. γιαβάζ'νι μυδχιώτικα. αλήαζ 'νι; τδανό 'σι **μι**; ούλ-λα έμαχαμ ντα, πόμαν ατούρα! τίζ να πάει να να μάχ'!
>
> ***xóš kældí**, kalóš írtis! d'órgus tʰí ini tšaú? émaxa, ániksan 'na skólja. javáz'ni mišçótika. alíaz 'ni? tšanó 'si **mi**? úlla émaxam da, póman atúra! tʰíz na pái na na máx'!*
>
> Welcome [in Turkish],[79] welcome [in Mišótika]! What is your business here? I heard they opened a school. They are learning Mišótika. Is it true? We have all learned it, it still existed![80] Who is going to learn it!?

The text is decidedly optimistic, but the chances of its ultimate survival are unfortunately very slight: Mišótika is doomed to be absorbed into Modern Greek, as Dawkins had already foreseen in the 1910s.

The title of the Facebook group echoes the subtitle of a Greek version of 'Teach Yourself Mišótika' by Thomas Phates.[81] The main title is a very current expression in Mišótika, which I repeat here with the plural form of the personal pronoun, as I believe it is an appropriate ending to this article:[82]

> χιογός α ας χαρίδ'
> *çogós a as xaríš'*
>
> God bless you! = Thank you! ■

68 Syncope was already a characteristic feature of Cappadocian in the first centuries of our era (*cf.* fn. 16).
69 Vryonis (fn. 23), p. 444.
70 He should have said: βαβά μ' dώικα φδέα έπ'κι *vavám dóika fšéa épki*. Fortunately, I wasn't there to correct him!
71 *Cf.* David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons & Charles D. Fennig (eds.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the world* (Dallas TX 2020), *s.v.* Cappadocian Greek. Online version: www.ethnologue.com/language/cpg.
72 Compare the situation of Dawkins' blind informant Christos from Malkopi who knew common Greek very well from his school days, but whose knowledge of the local dialect was 'excellent, as he habitually speaks it with the little children who lead him about; his infirmity also keeps him much *at home with the women of the family*', Dawkins (fn. 28), p. 25 (my italics).
73 The Mišótika word for 'granny' is κάκα *káka*, not κακά *kaká* the scatological meaning of which is the same in Mišótika, Greek, English and many other languages.
74 Many men would travel to Constantinople a lot, especially those from the northern villages according to Dawkins (fn. 28), p. 23–29.
75 The early recordings are stored in the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR: www.soas.ac.uk/elar), the more recent ones in the digital archive of the Laboratory of Modern Greek Dialects (*cf.* fn. 64).
76 The original form is γαβούστημα *γανύštima*, from the Turkish verb *kavuşmak* 'reunite', which is borrowed in Cappadocian as γαβουδτίζω *γavustízo*.
77 Author of *Το γλωσσικό ιδίωμα του Μιστί Καππαδοκίας* (Paionia 2006).
78 www.facebook.com/groups/470281169768316
79 Turkish *hoş geldi*.
80 This is a reference to the linguistic community who believed that Cappadocian had become extinct in the 1970s.
81 Thomas Phates, *Χιογός ας σι χαρίδ': Εκμάθηση του Μιστιώτικου ιδιώματος* (Konitsa 2012).
82 χιογός *çogós* is the Mišótika development of Θεός!